4:Grajdanzev--74-75 S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 162, 361

"Let us now consider some indirect evidence. In 1938 the urban population (i.e. of towns and cities having 10,000 and more inhabitants), made up 35.8 per cent of the total and the rural population 64.2 per cent. But in Taiwan, just as in China and Japan, towns with a population of 10,000 to 30,000 are mainly agricultural. Only cities with 50,000 inhabitants and over have few farmers (chiefly producers of vegetables on the outskirts of the city). In 1938 the population of the cities of over 50,000 in Taiwan amounted to 17.2 per cent. Thus [75] there is nothing in these statistics that contradicts our assertion that the agricultural population of Taiwan must amount to at least 65 per cent of total. But if one accepts the official figure of 50 per cent, it means first that there are no farmers in towns and cities with populations above 10,000, and secondly that about one-quarter of the rural population are not farmers, which seems hardly probable."

"The situation in the latter [80] country as regards land distribution is worse now than it was several decades ago and the large holdings are growing.

Distribution of Farmers and Land Tilled and by Size of Farms, 1930

Size of farms cultivated (ko)	Less than 0.5	0.5-0.99	1.0-1.99	2.0-4.99	5 and over	Total
Number of farmers(1,000)	128.0	96.9	100.4	78.9	19.0	423.2*
Per cent	30.3	22.9	23.7	18.6	4.5	100.0
Area of land tilled (1,000ko)	33.7	69.7	143.2	236.1	208.6	601.3
Per cent	4.9	10.1	20.7	34.2	30.1	100.0
Average for groups (ko per farmer)	0.26	0.72	1.43	2.99	11.0	1.63
Average in acres per farmer	0.62	1.71	3.39	7.11	26.15	3.87

*In Nogyo nenkan, 1940, from which we quote, the total is 433,300 but this appears to be a misprint. Even so, it is less than the total should be because, as was shown in the preceding table, there were in the same year 405,181 owners and the number

of tenants was not less than 150,000. In other words this investigation evidently covered only a part of the cultivators. This is proved by the figures of the area of land cultivated.

Source: Ibid."

4:Grajdanzev--83 [2] S-4 (no date) 1942 Formosans
116, 241, 361, 427

"Let us now consider the economy of the tenant. We saw that the tenants and semi-tenants make up about sixty-nine per cent of all the agricultural families. From the table on page 79 it appears that seventy-seven per cent of the farmers (the first three groups) cultivate on the average 0.75 ko each. These two groups should coincide approximately."

6: Kirchhoff--34 [5] U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosans-1-2
116, 133, 311, 361

The more important localities in Formosa all arose as centers of the export trade, and are thus either harbors or at least are situated close to the coast.

The most remarkable degree of development has been attained by Tai-nan, formerly known as Tai-uan or Tai-uan-fu. It now lies more than 3 km. distant from the coast and away from the right bank of the Na-mu-ki. But as late as the 17th century the wide plain between the town and the sea, which is now traversed by creeks and in which there are many fishponds, was a stretch of the sea, and today it is still flooded every year by the southwest monsoon. At the place where nowadays the creek flowing westwards from the town widens out to form a broader stream, more resembling a river, there lies the rather higher ground that bears the village of An-ping, 2 1/2 km. from the town and close to the shore of this creek, which continues on in a southwesterly direction for another kilometer, offering anchorage to junks of shallow draught and finally joining the sea after traversing a shifting sandbank. This hilly ground on which is An-ping measures 1 km. from east to west and 1/2 km. from north to south; it still rises like an island amidst river arms and swampy plains, and is the already mentioned former coastal island of Tai-uan, its name then being given by the Chinese to the whole island of Formosa. At that time, when from 1630 to 1633, the Dutch built their fort of Zelandia, the longitudinal axis of the sandy islet (it was narrower also in those days) ran from southeast to northwest, forming the partial barrier against the open sea of a lagoon bay cutting more deeply into the body of the main island; in the north the entry

to the lagoon was always open, via a broader channel of the sea, and in the south a sandbank one could walk on at low tide already began to connect the isle to the main island.

6: Kirchhoff--35 U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosans
116, 133, 175, 361

On the eastern side of the lagoon of Tai-uan lay the small locality of Sakkam (in Chinese: Tsche-kan), a native village of about 100 houses. In front of this the Dutch erected another fort, called Provintia or Providentia, exactly opposite Fort Zelandia, so that the lagoon was dominated on either side. After the collapse of Dutch power in Formosa, Zelandia still remained the key to the entry of the lagoon, behind which little Sakkam had grown to be the most important trading center on the island. For this reason Koschinga made it his residence and the Chinese, when they took possession in 1683, made it the seat of government and consequently called it Tai-uan-fu. But the continued growth of sandbanks that gradually rose above sea level, to the west of Fort Zelandia, made this fort useless as a coastal protection, so that it was dismantled in 1874 and a new fort built of its materials 1 1/2 km. to the south, close to the present coastline. Fort Provintia, in which the consul Swinhoe saw the Chinese temple in 1863, and which was built as a protection against the maleficent influences of the wandering spirits of the hung maô ("redhaired," the Dutch), has also been demolished since that time. It had long before been absorbed in the big irregular rectangle of Tai-uan-fu.

6: Kirchhoff--35 [2] U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosans
116, 361

This rectangle, [MC: i.e., Tai-uan-fu] like that of Peking, is roughly orientated with respect to the points of the compass, and is surrounded by a crenellated wall covered with slate about 9 km. in length, and pierced by eight gateways surmounted by rectangular towers. The town is built in Chinese style. The main streets cut each other at right-angles; most of the houses are built of bamboo or clay, only a few of brick. The roofs of the houses, which are without exception low, are of straw or slate, and cannot be seen for the seven or eight months of the worst heat, for they are then covered by the huge sheets of canvas that are stretched over the streets. In front of the western gate there is a suburb with narrow, dirty streets, and this is the business quarter. But the few foreign traders do not live here, they live in An-ping, and have their warehouses there; there the climate, in view of the marshy surroundings, is admittedly unhealthy, but the junks, as we have seen, anchor close at hand. Tai-uan-fu itself has long since ceased to be mainly a commercial town or even a harbor, it is the tranquil site of the administration and of the agency conducting the great state examinations for officials. Large areas within the town wall are occupied by cultivated fields, flower gardens and public squares planted with fine old trees, so that the German traveler Joest, who estimated at 200,000 the population of Tai-uan-fu (for a little while now called Tai-nan), is probably further away from the truth than the usual figure of 70,000. The population is even said to be declining sharply, since the constant sanding up of the entry near An-ping make things ever more difficult for the passage of junks.

It is therefore [MC: in view of the decline of Tai-uan-fu as a commercial city] natural that the greater part of the export trade of South Formosa should have gone over to Ta-kaô, 40 km. farther south, which has been connected telegraphically with Tai-nan since 1874. This small but important port is reached by passing between two precipitous cliffs that can easily be seen from far out at sea; on the left rises the Ape Mountain (of coral limestone) to a height of 400 m., and on the right there rises even more precipitously a cliff 120 m. high, called the Saracen's Head after the English cannonboat that surveyed the west coast of Formosa some decades ago. Between these two heights, which are occupied by forts, even smaller steamers can enter a bay which, however, is of very limited extent, and which is surrounded on either side by the installations recently constructed by the Europeans: immediately behing the fort at the foot of the Ape Mountain is the quay alongside which ships lay to, the customs, the English consulate and the dwellings of the foreign traders, while opposite (that is, behind the Saracen's Head) can be seen the hospital of the Presbyterian mission station, transferred from Tai-nan to Ta-kaô, the hospital doing a great deal of good, and the European warehouse. The very shallow lagoon, which stretches out from this harbor to the southeast, parallel to the coast, is separated from the sea by a sandy tongue of land (which first attached the Saracen's Head to the mainland). On this tongue of land is a fishing village with between 1,500 and 2,000 inhabitants, and called Ta-kaô after the harbor. Beyong the lagoon the glance passes over stocks of bamboo, palm and mimosa in the

foreground, and then over an intensively cultivated plain with small villages peeping from amidst the green sugar-cane fields, finally reaching the hazy blue mountains. In this coastal plain, which stretches out farther than the eye can see to the southeast, there lies the town of Fung-schan and, beyond the mouth of the Tan-tschui-ki, Pang-leaô, the center for the junk traffic of this southern region. When the southwest wind develops its full force, no vessel can lie to on this coast, which is most immediately exposed to this wind. The most southerly town on Formosa, which was founded quite recently, is Heng-tschun, the capital of the southern region of the same name, distinguished for its huge rice harvests. It lies at the foot of the western chain of the southern tongue of land.

6: Kirchhoff--35-36 U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosans
116, 133, 361

Rather farther inland is the group of towns of the North Formosan Tam-sui River region. The harbor [36] of Tam-sui consists only of the mouth of this river. The entry into the harbor over the constantly shifting sandbank, because of the strong surf this causes, is free of danger for steamers only in calm weather and when the tide is high. The channel of the river, which flows in a northwesterly direction at its mouth, is deeper on the right-hand side, while the bed is exposed at low tide on the left-hand side, for far more than half the width of the bed. Consequently all settlements are found on the right bank. Once the bar has been crossed there can first be seen, on the left, the Chinese fort, and then the former Dutch fort, built of red brick, where the English consul now lives, and after this the customs house and the open ground of Huuëi or Ho-be, which only the foreigners call Tam-sui after the river. Busy as the port may be, the spot really consists only of a narrow street along the stream in which only two people can avoid each other. But it is adorned by a Chinese temple born on stone columns and is well situated. Close to the locality there rise amphitheater-like the slopes used as a burial ground. Behind this the sides of the Ta-tun bears peanut and sweet potato fields on the lower parts, among which are strewn Chinese farmhouses, and from a height of 500 to 600 m. forests consisting of bamboo and tree ferns.

6: Kirchhoff-- 36 U 4 (no date) 1895 Formosans
116, 361, 505

Upstream [VMM: from Tansui] on the right bank also, there follows the populous town of Tua-tu-tia, the chief center for the preparation and export of tea, and farther along Mang-ka or Bang-ka, important because of the fact that larger junks come up this far on the Tam-sui (which should really be called the Sintiam at Bang-ka); this explains the dense crowds in the terribly filthy streets of Bang-ka, where humans and pigs fight for room. In particular, the small vessels bring down camphor from the mountain streams to be reshipped here.

6: Kirchhoff--36 [2] U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosans
116, 133, 361

Bang-ka ceased to be a seat of administration since the foundation, in 1879, of Tai-pe (or Ko-ping) as the center of administration in North Formosa, in the densely cultivated plain between Bang-ka and Tua-tu-tia, and at almost equal distances from the two towns. The whole fruitful but marshy plain of the three towns has only unhealthy, brackish water, but it receives good water from the southeast from the mountains behind the village of Kieng-be, through an artificial connection that was laid down quite a long time ago.

Beyond this fertile plain there soon begins the still little known land of the "wild savages," the Tsche-huan. Here Sintiam and Tokoham are the most advanced posts of civilization. The two sources of the Tam-sui called after these towns rise in the wooded mountain regions not yet subject to China, but finally flow through rice, sugar-cane and sugar fields... The Tokoham River in particular forms a sharp line of cultural demarcation: to its left are vivid green tea plantations and rice fields along all the heights as far as the sea, and on the right stretches out dark primeval forest.

6: Kirchhoff--36 [4] U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosans
116, 361

Ki-lung is a locality of but 1,000 to 2,000 inhabitants; it owes its importance almost exclusively to the export of coal from the mines that lie a bare 1 1/2 km. to the east-southeast; camphor and indigo play quite a subordinate part in its export trade.

6: Kirchhoff--36-37 U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosans
116, 311, 361, 487

To the northwest of Ki-lung the coastal village of Kimpaôli is of some significance because of the neighborhood of the solfataras of the Ta-tun Range. A road runs in a southwesterly direction from Kimpaôli and joins the so-called military road beginning opposite the harbor of Tam-sui, at the village of Pa-li-hun, and leading to Tai-nan and even farther along the coast to the southern point of the island.

In North Formosa the open place of Tiong-lek is situated on it, with heavy plantings of [37] rice, sweet potatoes, and turnips, and also the walled town of Teuk-tscham (now officially known as Sin-tschu). This is an important commercial center connected by water the nearby coast. Wide rice fields and luxuriant tea plantations surround it, but unfortunately it is not available for foreign trade, although an excellent market would be found here for materials and opium. Now loads of camphor are transported from here on the backs of bearers to Tam-sui, the nearest treaty port.

6: Kirchhoff--37 [2] U-4 (no date) 1895 Formosans
116, 175, 311, 361

Chinese settlement on the east coast is quite new, and so are the roads laid down on this coast and to the coast. Since the beginning of the 19th century Chinese settlers, for the most part people who had to expect punishment for some offense if they stopped longer in the region controlled by the Chinese Government, went round the northeast point of Formosa to the coastal plain of Kapsulan, now officially called Komalan. This plain is at most 10 to 12 km. broad. The fertility of this plain for crops of rice was soon recognized; so settlers came also who had not taken to flight, and here too, although in a hard struggle with the natives, Chinese villages gradually grew up, as far as the bay of Su-aô in the south. The favorable position of the little village of Su-aô (i. e., Su Bay), on this fine bay, was first recognized during the Japanese expedition of 1874, when it became the headquarters of the commander of the Chinese observation corps. Today Su-aô is a thriving town at the mouth of the river of the same name, whose valley forms a route for several kilometers to the southwest, towards the foot of the coastal range; all around are green rice fields, and the tea plant does well on the cleared forest soil of the surrounding heights.

7: Joest--56 E-5 (no date) 1882 Formosans
116, 133, 361, 504

Unfortunately, there are no large harbors on Formosa, or rather, there are none in those places where the Chinese companies have trading posts. Taiwanfu is situated two miles from the coast; the harbor, Amping, is situated at that point where Nova Zelandia was situated formerly, but even there landing facilities for passengers and goods are very poor.

9: Yamasaki--225 N-5 (1896-1897) 1900 Formosans
134, 361

The large plain of Taiwan forms the western part of the island. The alluvial soil is fertile and there are many towns and villages in all quarters of the plain.

9: Yamasaki--225 [4] N-5 (1896-1897) 1900 Formosans
116, 133, 361

The middle and southern parts of the western coastal territory of Taiwan begin at the lower course of the Hōri-kei and stretch to the little town of Hōryō towards the south. The whole length of this plain is 220 km, and its greatest width is 48 km. It is heavily populated and has many towns, e.g. Kagi (Kia-ji), Taikō (Taikia), Unrin (Jünlin), Shōka (Tschang-hwu), Rokkō (Lokiang), Tainan (Tainanfu), Hōzan (Fŭng-schan), Takao (Takau), etc. In the north there is the small basin-shaped plain of Taihoku, watered by the Tamsui-kei and its tributaries. The capital of Taihoku (Taipei), with its commercial suburbs of Taitōtei (Tautuatea) to the north and Banka to the southwest, lies in the middle of the plain. There is also a small plain with the little town of Kōshun (Hŏngschŭn) at the southern end of the island.

9: Yamasaki--225 [6] N-5 (1896-1897) 1900 Formosans
116, 162, 361, 563

The Capsiulan plain is naturally not so heavily populated as the western plain, yet on its fields and meadows the more cultivated Amis, a branch of the Malayan race, enjoy an unclouded existence.

9: Yamasaki--226 [2] N-5 (1896-1897) 1900 Formosans
116, 133, 361

Southwards from Karenkō to Pinan along the foot of the coastal chain, the coastline first proceeds for a few kilometers along the first low hills; then there follows a steep stretch near Kororan, and again a low section with a steep edge lying farther back. The precipitous coast is wonderfully developed between the mouth of the Shūkoran-kei and Pinan. But at times we go through sandy beaches at the foot of the terraces, which are only a few meters high. There are three steps in the coastal terraces, with a total breadth of 300 to 1,000 m., and on this are found the villages and fields of the natives and also of the Chinese who have settled there. Many coral reefs can be seen on the shore.

9: Yamasaki--226-227 N-5 (1896-1897) 1900 Formosans
116, 133, 361, 503

When we proceed northwards from Hōryō, we find a harbor, Tōkō, at the mouth of the Tamsui-kei, a large river in southern Taiwan with a fertile basin. In the harbor, at least twenty large Chinese trading vessels always lie at anchor. Not very far to the north is a lagoon harbor, Takao, which is very famous, both because of its trade and also for the beauty and salubriousness of its location. Between the lagoon and the sea there stretches out a 12 km. long tongue of land, called Haisa ("sea sand"), on which are many fishermen's huts. At the northern end of the Haisa there rises up a crag, called Saracen's Head by the English, which was doubtless separated from the "Ape Mountain" opposite it by erosion of the sea waves. The Ape Mountain is joined by the higher Takao-san (327 m.), which is an important landmark for travelers. A narrow channel between these two hills forms the mouth of the bay and the harbor. Unfortunately the entrance to the lagoon, like the lagoon itself, is shallow so that only small steamers and junks can enter, while the [227] larger ships must anchor outside the harbor. All official buildings and foreign concessions lie beneath the Ape Mountain, while the shops of the natives are grouped opposite, at the foot of the Saracen's Head. This locality is usually called Kigo. Many mangrove trees can be found in the lagoon. They are not so large as those I later saw in Singapore. At some distance from the lagoon shore is the town of Hozan (Föngschan), in much the same position as Königsberg on the Danzig Haff. The two hills mentioned, Ape Mountain and Saracen's Head, consist of old coral reefs.

9: Yamasaki--229 N-5 (1896-1897) 1900 Formosans
116, 131, 133, 361 Pescadores

Apart from the chief island of Taiwan, there are various subsidiary islands. Among these the Pescadores are the most important. This group consists of about eighty islets and cliffs, situated to the west of Taiwan in the Formosa Channel, between lat. N. 23° and 24° . The Portuguese called these islands Pescadores (Fisher Islands) because of the extensive fishing which the Chinese have practised there for many centuries. The largest island is called Hōkō-tō (Penghu Island). It consists of basalt and coral reefs. On its western side a bay is formed by the two islands next in importance, Hakusa-tō (Pehoe Island), or "white sand island" and Gyo-ō-tō (Fisher Island). This protected area offers an important haven in the stormy China Sea. The chief locality on the largest island, Makō or Mekon, is a small harbor on this bay with about 3,000 inhabitants, to which there must now be added a small Japanese garrison. The harbor is deep and quiet; always to be found there are some steamers and Chinese trading junks, together with a large number of fishing boats. The island is flat and poor in flora. The highest elevation is only 48 m. high. Other islands worthy of note in this group are Kitsubai or "Bird Island" to the north and the Pachan (Rover) group with Pachan and Tsiang, the Kitsu group (East group) with Tōkitsu and Saikitsu and Taisho or "Junk Island" in the south.

10: Schumacher--223 [2] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosans
116, 351, 361, 764

The Chinese villages in the lowland plain are mostly hidden in bamboo jungles. Some of them are situated at the foot of mountain spurs where they are well protected against the weather. They are surrounded by burial grounds and enclosed within high brick walls. Wide and swampy ditches gird these unimpressive places, whose inhabitants make a meager living. But for centuries the Chinese have preserved the ruins and trash with sentimental care.

10: Schumacher--223 [5] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosans
116, 164, 361, 364

The origin, spread, and final, the endemic occurrence of illnesses are favored among the Chinese of Formosa by the layout of their towns, villages and dwellings. Nearly all the settlements have grown up in depressions which could be fed but not drained. It is true that sewers are found in all large settlements; they receive dirty water but there is no outlet for it. The water is left to evaporate and naturally infects the air. The sewers are deep ditches occupying the entire width of the narrow alleys; they are lined with tiles or planks. Add to that the fact that the Chinese are not very much concerned with bodily cleanliness, that individuals are not segregated in any way from a large group of people, that there is continued contact even at the time of contagious epidemics, and that they do not receive any medical attention, and then it becomes obvious that the origin of many illnesses should not simply be attributed to the climate of the island.

10: Schumacher--224 [3] T-1 (ca. 1896) 1898 Formosans
116, 361

Of the purely Chinese towns of Formosa the sea-port of Lokkang should be given the first place from the economic point of view. Lokkang is located approximately half way down the western coast of Formosa on almost the same parallel as Tschang-hua. Its hinterland is very extensive and extremely fertile. Lokkang is not only the most prosperous of the Chinese towns, but I am also inclined to give it first place from the point of view of hygienic and sanitary conditions. Lokkang is situated at the mouth of the river of the same name, sloping down towards it and to the sea which washes its beaches and receives refuse just like the Lokkang river.

11: Haguenauer--26 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosans
116, 361

Taihoku is the capital, and it is located about 25 kilometers from the harbor of Keelung. Taihoku is a modern city and a very clean one; it reminds you of the tropics, for it has palm trees and houses with arcades which are intended to protect the passers by from the burning rays of the sun. The Japanese sections are in the center of the city around the Government buildings and the Ethnographic Museum. The latter raises its imposing structure in the midst of a lovely park.

11: Haguenauer--26-27 T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosans
116, 361

The Chinese quarters Daitodai and Manka [MC: of Taihoku, the capital] are not nearly so neat, but they are very picturesque. As you visit them you can observe the life of the corporations, have fun deciphering the pompous meaning of the characters which compose the signs in front of the shops, and marvel at the things which a Chinese stomach [27] is capable of digesting. The street is full of people, the shops do a thriving business, and the temples are darkened by the fumes of the little sticks of incense, which burn on the altars of the gods.

11: Haguenauer--27 [3] T-3 (no date) 1929 Formosans
116, 361

The land around Taihoku is fertile. Our first excursion took us to Tamsui, and the landscape is so pretty that it is a trip well worth taking. Although the little city has declined in importance, it has an historic interest, for it was there that the Spaniards erected the Fort of the Holy Trinity in 1629, but the Dutch wrested it from them in 1641. They reconstructed the little fortress, making the walls eight feet thick and so strong that they withstood the shells which were fired by the battleships of Admiral Courbet in 1884. The "fort" contains the English consular offices today, and its roof is used as an observation platform for tourists. On the way back you visit the thermal spring of Hokuto, which is a kind of little Enghien for officials.

12: Garnot--14 G-3 (1884-85) 1894 Formosans
116, 317, 361

There is a regular sulphur industry in the region around Masou and Kimpaoli. The population is very scattered in the interior of the massif but the largest centers are in the low area where the valleys open into broad plains which furnish the Chinese farmers with large fields for cultivation.

Large junks sail up the Tokoham River as far as Menka or Banca, which is a very industrious and productive city of 40,000 inhabitants. The little city of Sintiam gave its name to the river; it is a recent creation several miles above Menka and it lies at the spot where the river ceases to be navigable.

After the three rivers merge the alluvial plain broadens and the population increases rapidly. We come to Patchina and then to Taotutia, which is at the junction of the Tokoham and Sintiam rivers; it is the site of the foreign colony and the largest tea market in the region. A little farther upstream and between the two rivers we find the administrative center of Taï-Pak-Fou. Tokoham is rather far away in the mountainous area but it is the city which gave its name to the third river. Kantou or Kantow which is a little below the junction has become a suburb of Tamsui, the large commercial center of the whole area.

The Tamsui harbor is really only the enlarged estuary of the river. [15] It is the port of embarkation for all the Menka products and it has a population of 70,000. The entrance is blocked by a sandbar just two meters below the surface but as the tide rises from 2.10 to 2.60 meters ships that draw an average amount of water can cross it daily. Mountains rising to a height of 500 to 700 meters border the entrance to the estuary, which is marked by a beacon at the end of a rocky reef.

Several fishing villages are hidden in the little valleys along the coast: Alibong and Alilou, Kimpaoli and Masou. They are connected to the Tamsui valley by some mountain trails which have scarcely been explored and which are only known by hearsay.

12: Garnot--16-19 G-3 (1884-85) 1894 Formosans
116, 344, 361

Kelung stretches along the roadstead and it is marked off into several districts. In the northern part the European buildings form a line that follows the beach and they are backed by the last slopes of the Ber lines. There are two handsome buildings for the customs but the rest are uninteresting; they are simply ware-houses belonging to English or German companies from Amoy or Hong Kong. Farther south the Chinese district called Soo-Wan is connected to the citadel and the Chinese city by a narrow stone causeway bordering the beach. A native cemetery with cement tombs runs along this causeway and finally there is a porch with several steps leading up to the Yamen or citadel. It is surrounded by a [page 17-18 contains photograph, omitted] [19] wall of coarse sandstone that is irregular in its outline. About fifteen sheds of wood and mud with tile roofs are usually adequate for the barracks. They surround the governor's dwelling. On the southern side a wooden door opens out toward the city. It is separated from the mansion by a river that is crossed by a stone bridge; this was not finished when the expedition visited the island.

12: Garnot--19 [2] G-3 (1884-85) 1894 Formosans
116, 346, 361

On the outskirts of the city [MC: of Kelung] you see a few isolated pagodas which are surrounded by ancient trees; they are a delightful diversion from the filth of the Chinese streets. The city has a rather unusual pagoda, which is on the northern side across from the roadstead. On each side of the entrance you see two enormous granite dragons that have a strange appearance. Several feet away some finely carved bronze caruncles sleep in the dust of the centuries; they bear inscriptions dating from the time of Charles the Fifth.

Kelung is important because it is near some coal deposits; it and Port-Coal which lies several kilometers to the east are the ports of embarkation for the mineral.

These deposits are about one league east of the city and about two kilometers south of the villages of Gia-Kow and Petao in the mountainous massif which borders the Kelung basin on this side.

The enormous elevation of the plateau is almost completely carboniferous. Coal comes practically to the surface and in certain spots you find it as soon as you begin to scratch the vegetable surface.

15: U.S. Navy --21 [8] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 361, 563

"At Taihoku, where almost one-half of the entire Japanese population of the island have their homes, there is a distinct difference in the residential areas. The Formosans live north, west and southwest of the old administrative city area. The higher Japanese officialdom lives within the administrative center, together with the Japanese tradesmen whose retail shops are on the principal commercial streets. A distinctly Japanese housing development is spreading to the east of the administrative center. In other cities there is the same tendency toward voluntary segregation, but to a less marked degree. Although the Government maintains various relief agencies for the poorer people, there is little evidence of individual good feeling between classes. While generous among their own large families, both the Formosans and the Japanese are conservative in extending charity through impersonal channels."

15: U.S. Navy --22-23 (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 162, 361

"A first-hand observer, in 1903, stated that there were about 500,000 Hakka people on the island in 1901, most of whom were settled in the Shinchiku area between Byoritsu and [23] Nanto. There were a few settlements southeast of Takao and some on the east coast near Taito. The latest estimate available (1928) placed the number of Hakka at 'about 700,000'. It may be reasonable to assume the present number of Hakka people to be at least 1,000,000.

Villages in which the Hakka element dominates are Koro, Taiko, Gyubato, Gosei, Tokatsukutsu and Rokko."

15: U.S. Navy --23 [2] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 162, 361

"The Fukien Chinese. The Formosans whose ancestors came from the Fukien coastal area have settled throughout most of the arable lowlands and foothills. They represent, roughly, three-fourths of the total population and hence through sheer weight of numbers exercise considerable influence in the total economy."

15: U.S. Navy--28 [11] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 175, 178, 361

"The first Chinese settled in Taiwan along the southwest coast, in and about the Tainan region. Because early settlement among the aborigines was dangerous, the settlers kept their dwellings together in defensible clusters, often selecting a prominent elevation or point overlooking a stream which could serve as a moat about a compact settlement. Further north the later settlements tended to become elongated strings of houses on either side of a road or street, often along a river bank. Often they were an extension of a settlement around a temple or the walled house of a wealthy family. Throughout the north the scattered farmhouse is most common, solitary dwellings depending upon their walls and hedges for defense. Near the borders of the aborigine territory the villages still retain a fortress arrangement of many houses within a highly defensible area."

15: U.S. Navy--28 [12] (no date) 1944 Formosans
116, 312, 361, 311

"Availability of water supply (less favorable in the south) has also helped determine these settlement types. The fairly even distribution of rainfall throughout the year in the north makes springs and wells more constant and obviates the necessity of building near a permanent pool or deep stream. The method of land reclamation had an effect, too. Early militia, stationed in compact settlements, guarded the colonizers during the Koxinga period (early 17th century), and the soldiers themselves spent considerable time cultivating the land. The northern lowland districts, however, were developed in later years by private enterprise rather than by government policy. Ambitious land operators undertook to secure and clear areas unclaimed by the government. In turn, they subsidized tenants whom they brought in from the south, settling them on good land and building farmhouses for them."

15: U.S. Navy--29
116, 361, 369, 177.36
636.36

(no date) 1944

Formosans
Japanese

"Many city or town planning ordinances are in effect in Taiwan. The Japanese have drawn up overall schemes for the modernization of urban life everywhere, but these have gone into effect only in the larger settlements. Hence a sharp contrast is presented between the excellence of some city arrangements and the extreme primitiveness of nearby settlements."

15: U.S. Navy--29 [2]
116, 361. 349, 177.36
636.36

(no date) 1944

Formosans
Japanese

"Before the Japanese took over the island, all the cities and many of the towns were surrounded by great walls, pierced by well-defended gates. The Japanese have torn down most of the walls, preserving only the gates as decorative monuments. Settlement and development have gone forward rapidly. The result is a quadrilateral or circular arrangement of city streets within the old town areas and a very irregular pattern of streets and alleys developed outside. The Japanese have been cutting through old settlements and imposing a well-developed grid and radiation system of streets and roads upon many towns."

The actual ascent of Mount Morrison started from the village of Ling-ki-ho. It is surrounded by bare hills between which spread fields of rice and sweet potatoes. The little town has a population of about a thousand who initially showed themselves very hostile towards the Japanese; the ranks of the rebels included people engaged in the camphor trade. We had an extremely hard time finding porters in Ling-ki-ho and were completely unsuccessful in our search for guides. We had finally managed to engage twenty men who, when they learnt of our destination, promptly deserted us to the last man for fear of the aborigines, among whom individuals can distinguish themselves by capturing the heads of several Chinese. A youth of their group can think of marriage only after he has proved his courage by such an achievement. Once more twenty porters were hired; they were locked up overnight, examined by the doctor who eliminated four of them, and the next morning a load of about 24 kilograms was tied on the back of each one of them in the presence of armed soldiers, so that there was no opportunity for desertion. Our group included two officers with twenty-five men and their equipment and seven Japanese including a newspaper reporter, an interpreter, a doctor, geologist, and a topographer. I was not only supposed to be the leader of the expedition but was also entrusted with the task of studying the forest conditions in detail and of photographing everything of interest. Naturally we were well equipped with all kinds of scientific

instruments and tools for clearing our way through the thicket, for building huts against the rain, etc.

31: Hofmann--612 N-3 (1909) 1912 Formosans
116, 132, 361

My stay in the region of the Tsou aborigines was longer and more rewarding than my visit to Taikokan. We started from the small village of Kagi approximately in the center of the island. We arrived there after a journey during hot weather, having traveled by train, on May 12th, 1909. We immediately become aware of the change in climate. While in the north there had been a great deal of rain and humidity, here there was drought; the humid northern winds which predominate in the spring do not penetrate to the center of Formosa. In Kilung and Tahoku the abundant rainfalls are evenly distributed throughout the entire year while in this region the rainy season begins at the end of May and lasts until October. The effect of these climatic differences may be seen in the vegetation; here there are far more xerophytic plants. In the north at this time of the year the rice fields are already green, while here the soil has not yet been plowed since the plants could not grow. There was not a cloud in the sky and we were exposed to the full heat of the sun. Kagi, a village which otherwise does not offer anything of interest, was shrouded in a cloud of yellow dust. In 1907 a violent earthquake occurred here; of the buildings of former times little has remained except the gates of the city. On Formosa all the cities in the Chinese region are enclosed by walls and ramparts (cf. Fig, 1); a European who visits these cities is reminded of the medieval cities of Europe.

From Chikutoki we started to ascend the mountain; where the ground was fairly level we used sedan chairs made of two bamboo poles in which we sat in a half squatting, half lying position. Four strong Chinese were able to carry my weight, 78 kilograms, with no difficulty. They were able to climb ascents of 20 to 30 at the same steady pace. The carriers in back change about every fifteen minutes.

After an ascent of about five hours, at a height of about 600 to 700 meters, we found that the landscape had changed considerably. We went through bamboo forests, more dense and more extensive perhaps than anywhere else on the Japanese islands; forests like these are not found, so far as is known, anywhere else on Formosa. In an area of about 10,000 hectares the vegetation consists entirely of bamboo trees; these grow so close together that there is no space for other plants to develop. The average height of the bamboo trees is not more than 13 meters. Whether these bamboo forests represent the original vegetation or whether they have taken the place of leafy trees which were destroyed by a forest fire cannot be determined. The fact that they are spread over a large area supports the assumption that the vegetation is original and has a xerophilous character. The forests of bamboo trees grow on dry, low elevations composed of sandstone which are exposed to the sun; at the level at which they grow there are dry and rainy seasons. At a height of about 1,000 meters there are rainfalls of short duration with an intensity characteristic of the tropics almost every day; at this level bamboo trees no longer predominate. Chinese settlers have penetrated as far as the bamboo

forests, however, and from this it might be concluded that the original jungles were destroyed by the fires of the colonists [615] and that new shoots of bamboo took their place by a natural process. This has happened several times on the Japanese islands. On the other hand the settlements are sparse and do not penetrate very deeply into the region of the bamboo forests. The numerous places where trees have been burned down, which are also found in the sections entirely inhabited by the aborigines, are overgrown with stiff, tall reed plants, Imperata and Miscanthus which because of their dense growth prevent the growth of trees at least for the near future. It is well known that bamboo trees grow to their full height within one year. Since it has many uses, bamboo often takes the place of timber; for that reason the Chinese exploit the forests around their settlements since for their purposes bamboo alone is sufficient.

On my return I stayed for some time in Tainan, the southern capital. This is still one of the most important cities on the island because of its nearness to the shallow Amping Harbor, although it is likely that Takao, with the increase in trade, will assume a greater importance.

35: Collingwood--135 D-2 (1866) 1867 Formosans
116, 131, 133, 361

"On the 13th June, 1866, I visited Sano Bay, on the east coast of Formosa, in H. M. S. Serpent, Commander Bullock, proceeding thither from the harbour of Kelung. The object of this visit was chiefly the verification of some supposed dangers in the harbour, which is spacious and not difficult of approach, and, although little frequented, is of importance as the only available harbour upon the whole east coast of the island. Our visit acquired additional interest from the fact that there was believed to be a village in the bay, occupied by the aborigines of the island, whom we were anxious to meet with. We found four villages in the bay: the first and smallest upon the northern side was a mere hamlet of Chinese fishermen, consisting of half-a-dozen cottages upon the hill-side, their boats drawn up on the beach in front. Passing by this, we proceeded up the harbour, and anchored near a sandy beach, beyond which we could see some roofs of houses. All the rest of the bay had a desolate and lifeless appearance, the lofty hills sweeping down to the water's edge, generally densely wooded, and presenting an aspect of wildness, which accorded well with our belief that they were inhabited by the still savage aborigines of Formosa."

37: Steere--317-318 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosans
116, 361

"Formosa, though it has been settled by the Chinese within the last two hundred years, possesses some seven or eight walled cities, among them Taiwanfu, the nominal capital, Pitao, Kagee, and Changwha. Though of such modern date, they are built after the old Chinese model, which is probably very much that of the walls of ancient Troy, and they are intended to be defended by archers. There is no provision for attack or de-[318]fense with cannon. The walls of Taiwanfu are said to be seven miles in circumference; they are from twenty to twenty-five feet in height, and the same in thickness. They are faced with brick and stone, but are probably earth in the interior. Taiwanfu is built upon the sight of the old Dutch colony, and there are still remains of a small fort standing in the middle of the city, beside the ruins of the large fort called Zelandia, which was built to protect the harbor below. The present population of Taiwanfu, with the uncertainty that seems always to apply to Chinese cities, is estimated to contain all the way from thirty to sixty thousand people."

37: Steere--319-320 S-3 (1873-74?) 1875 Formosans-1-3
116, 133, 361

"The first journey made was from Taiwanfu north following General Legendre's track to Kagee. From here we left his track on the left and turned toward the mountains. After one day's travel we entered the mountains by the bed of a stream, and then we traveled a day and a half through a mountainous country partly covered with timber, with here and there a Chinese village. This country seems to be a sort of neutral ground, and all were armed for the last six or eight miles before reaching the lake of Tsuisia. We passed through a wild country covered with timber, where there was said to be much danger from savages, and only large bands of armed men passed. We found a fresh water lake, surrounded by cultivated lands, and with three villages of Trin-whan. An old Chinaman, living upon a small island in the lake, owned most of the lands, and had begun the cultivation of tea. There was a very high and steep mountain at the distance of a few miles, directly to the east of the lake. The lake has several species of eels and of fish, the latter mostly of the Siluridal. From the lake, a day's march, most of the way through rough, mountainous country, brought us to the valley of Posia or Polisia. There were many beautiful tree ferns seen on this trip and camphor trees. The valley of Posia is six or seven miles in diameter, and is not all cultivated yet, as rice cannot be carried up such a distance to market, and the inhabitants only cultivate for their own use. There are several beautiful streams flowing through the valley, which, when they unite at the bottom, are well deserving the name of a river. The settlement of Posia seems to be very near the situation of a town on

Legendre's map called Ou-gitang. We inquired in vain for this town, and came to the conclusion that it was imaginary. Posia is surrounded on all sides by mountains that are covered with timber. We saw several species of oak growing here with a pine and a wild apple, which the Lek-whan gather and boil for eating. There is also much camphor-wood, but distance to market makes it impossible to use it as yet. From Posia we went a day and a half's journey almost due east up a roaring stream that forms part of the river at Posia. For the first ten or twelve miles the rock was mostly sandstone, and on the north side of the stream the timber was composed of dwarf pine and oak, with no undergrowth but coarse grass. On [320] the south side, the mountain, though just as steep, was covered with almost tropical vegetation, among which were tree ferns, wild plantains, rattans, etc. As we went farther up, the vegetation became more scanty on both sides. We found the savages cultivating the steep hill sides, the rock now being slate and quartz. At last we reached the water-shed, having followed the stream we were upon to its heads, while we could see the country descending on the east toward the Pacific. Most of the country here seemed to have been under cultivation at some time, and had grown up to a second growth of timber, twenty and thirty feet in height, of a species of alder, closely resembling the one called tag alder in the United States.

Upon our return to Posia we started out toward the coast with a large band of Lek-whans as guides and guard. We followed the river for the first day through a rough,

but rich and timbered region. At night we camped on the river, and near a fine valley, where there were still walls of houses and remains of ditches for irrigation, made by a body of Lek-whans, who settled there some twelve or fifteen years before. They were harassed so determinedly by the savages that they had to desert the settlement. Soon we broke out of the mountains, having left the river on the right. There were several guard-houses, with soldiers guarding the ravine we came down from inroads of savages. We hove here in sight of Changwha in the distance, and of the goat-plain, but we turned to the north and stopped at the Lek-whan town of Toasia. They have rich rice fields about here, and the country is very productive, but they are in debt to the Chinese. From Toasia, a day's journey took us to Laisia, part of the way being over a dry plain that had once been part of the great valley, but had been left high and dry by the streams cutting through to a lower level. Laisia lies in a beautiful valley among the hills and plateaus. There are two small villages, a few yards apart. On my journey toward Tamsni, I passed large quantities of camphor, most of it cut and lying on the ground, a short distance to the north of Laisia. The timber has been cut by the Chinese for the best part to be sawn into planks; the rest will lie until it is packed up and carried away to be distilled for the camphor. Between Laisia and Tamsni I passed many places fitted for the cultivation of tea. After reaching Tankiang, I followed General Legendre's track for the rest of the way."

42: Schetelig--386-387 T-2 (no date) 1868 Formosans
116, 135, 177, 361, 439

Kilung is a Chinese town with walls and gates. It is open to European commerce and is distinguished for the by no means inconsiderable beds of coal in the neighborhood and by the traces of a Spanish fort. For as, in the south near Taiwan-fu and in the north near Tamsui, quite substantial remains of Dutch strongholds are to be found, similarly the Spaniards, [387] during their brief period of settlement in the 17th century, seem to have made Kilung the chief point for their operations.

42: Schetelig--389 T-2 (no date) 1868 Formosans-1-2
116, 311, 361; 487

Starting from Manka, the point common to the three chief arms of the Tamsui River, I undertook a second expedition up the middle river to the interior. Chintamki, i.e., "the way to the indigo fields," is a small locality at the bend of this river arm where the river changes its southwesterly course for a north-northeasterly one. Up to this point the boats are forced through the rapids at the cost of some exertion, but then the river must be abandoned and the march to the interior must be undertaken on the roughest mountain paths, close to precipices and with the constant danger of plunging into the depths, into the swirling streams below. The traveler is richly compensated for all his labors and his dangerous slips by a delightful journey through the most remote cultural areas of Chinese colonization. On the highest mountain passes, at 2,000 feet and more, year in and year out the camphor trees and tree ferns are uprooted and, untiringly, Convulvulus edulis, the sweet potato, and the profitable indigo are planted; and although every summer terrific downfalls wash away the delicate plants from the very steep cliff walls, the industrious Chinese is not discouraged by the necessity of repeating his work.... It is clear at the first glance that there, along the upper course of the Tamsui River, the world of the primeval forest and the former haunts of the natives are disappearing more and more beneath the axe of the woodcutter. People who took the same path 5 or 6 years ago, in order to investigate the interior, still found primeval forest and natives living their undisturbed and unchanged lives in places where today

there are flourishing Chinese villages. The valley in which lies the village of Takau (this should not be confused with the port of the same name in the district of Fung-schan on the southwest coast), the terminus for our bearers and our assembly point, seems to have been taken in hand during the last few years only, for everywhere charred tree stumps may still be seen between the indigo plants. This valley is reached via a pass more than 2,000 feet high, and one is surprised by the sight of the upper course of the river tumbling and winding in the depths below, and also by the view of the mountain chains, uncountable as they stretch out to the south. Our aim was soon reached, namely to determine the situation of this upper valley and to survey and to measure the mountain ranges round about.

45:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AD 1 Formosa
RDL

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Table 3. Percentage Distribution of the Total Population in Communities by Size 1920-1952 */

Year	Under 20,000	20,000 30,000	30,000 40,000	40,000 100,000	100,000 or more	Others +
1920	75	11	5	3	4	1
1930	59	22	2	8	5	3
1940	36	34	7	8	12	2
1952	23	25	17	12	21	2

*/ Arranged from governmental reports of each census, as quoted in Raper and others, Urban and Industrial Taiwan, Taipei, Foreign Operations Administration and National Taiwan University, 1954, p. 255.

+/ Aborigines and boat dwellers.

45:Stanford U, S-4, 5 P56 AD1 Formosa
~~AD1~~ AD1

575 of the death of parents. This was a kind of mutual insurance. The association for mutual financial aid, called "hui," was a kind of temporary credit union.

438 361 Set-up of Towns and Cities: Although the life of farmers was highly self-sufficient, they had to exchange some of their products for agricultural implements and other daily necessities. In response to this necessity towns sprang up in the midst of this agrarian society. As will be seen from a map, Formosa has a fairly even distribution of towns along the western plain. The longest distance between two towns or villages in the plains area is under 10 miles; a distance of 6 miles is most common. This means that each individual lives with 5 miles or less of some town or village, and in one day or less can walk to the village center and back home. In other words, even though he walks, every farmer can sell his products and buy his daily necessities at some town or village between sunrise and sunset. Among the small towns and villages there are larger towns, and among larger towns there is an occasional city as a local center. On the whole, there is a systematic distribution of cities, towns, and villages. Obviously this was the result of natural growth in an agrarian society. After the Japanese occupation there were newly developed mining towns, fishing ports, sugar plantation towns, railway and

361 communication centers, recreational towns
438 or satellite towns close to the large urban areas. Even so, the traditional agrarian town-city set-up is still much in evidence.

441 3. Associations in the City: Cities in Formosa were mostly developed as the trading centers of agrarian society. Those cities with ports and trade with the mainland had attained a fair size. In 1897, two years after the Japanese occupation, the population of the biggest city in Formosa, Tainan, was 45,330. Its commerce and handicraft were differentiated, and largely organized into merchant guilds. During the Manchu rule there were in Formosa rice guilds, cloth guilds, sugar guilds, silk guilds, string guilds, paper guilds, drug guilds, timber guilds, hemp guilds, oil, needle and iron guilds, porcelain guilds, and tea guilds.[2] Usually the stores of each trade were concentrated in one street, and not infrequently the street was named from the trade. In Tainan there was a Rice Street, Oil-dealer Street, Bean-dealer Street, Fish-monger Street, Cloth Street, Silver-smith Street,

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2. Yoshio Higashi: Economic History of Taiwan, 1944, Taipei, p. 304.

52:Barclay S-5 (no date)1954 ADI Formosa ADI

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ing and practice. Japanese did many things to discourage free intercourse between the two groups, and raised exaggerated fears of animosity from the Taiwanese among their own kind.[17]

162 563 361.

The Japanese maintained high levels of living in Taiwan. Their wealth did not create the separation between the two groups, but helped to enlarge it. The opulence of Japanese was more than simply a matter of superior income (which the Taiwanese might have emulated); it was also founded on privilege.

For example, wherever possible they lived apart in special portions of each city. These sections were arranged so as to provide the facilities that they were in a position to command—Japanese shops, entertainment, and cleanliness, one of the greatest of all luxuries in Asia. Influential Japanese strove to put themselves in such surroundings, whereupon they allowed poorer sections to develop as Taiwanese residents could best afford. Owing to this combination of jealous care and neglect, the central districts of most cities were elaborately laid out with efficient street patterns and handsome landscapes—but with residential finery and modern public buildings concentrated in a few blocks and the indescribable slums that Asia often produces spread over the remainder.[18]

It is easy to see the nature of residential segregation in Taipei City, where it was carried farthest (see Fig. 20, based on 1935 census data). There were two large concentrations of Taiwanese, at the north and the southeast corners. These were the sites of the original pair of settlements that grew into the present city. The space in between had been gradually built up before 1895 as the seat of Manchu administration for the island. It was razed and replaced by the Japanese (following a destructive typhoon in 1912) to make way for new construction that they planned. The Japanese built this central area themselves, and therefore to their own design. It had a core in which almost none but Japanese eventually lived, surrounded by a

[17] One can say that these fears were exaggerated without implying that they were without foundation. By their repressive administration, Japanese invited widespread ill-will in the population. Much of this might have been allayed if they had not on the one hand advertised the benefits of their rule and, on the other, systematically cut off any opportunities for Taiwanese to compete with Japanese on equal footing. This ambivalent policy even undermined some of their foremost objectives by impeding their use of the local labor supply in the most effective ways for war production.

[18] The enforcement of health and sanitary regulations held the two groups in complete equality before the law. In looking back at the severity of these measures, Chinese have remembered them as instances of oppression by the Japanese. But by such means the authorities were able to avoid the unhealthful conditions usually associated with urban crowding in Asia. See Hsü Tze-wei (1946), p. 444 ff.

52:Barclay S-5 (no date)1954 AD1 Formosa AD1

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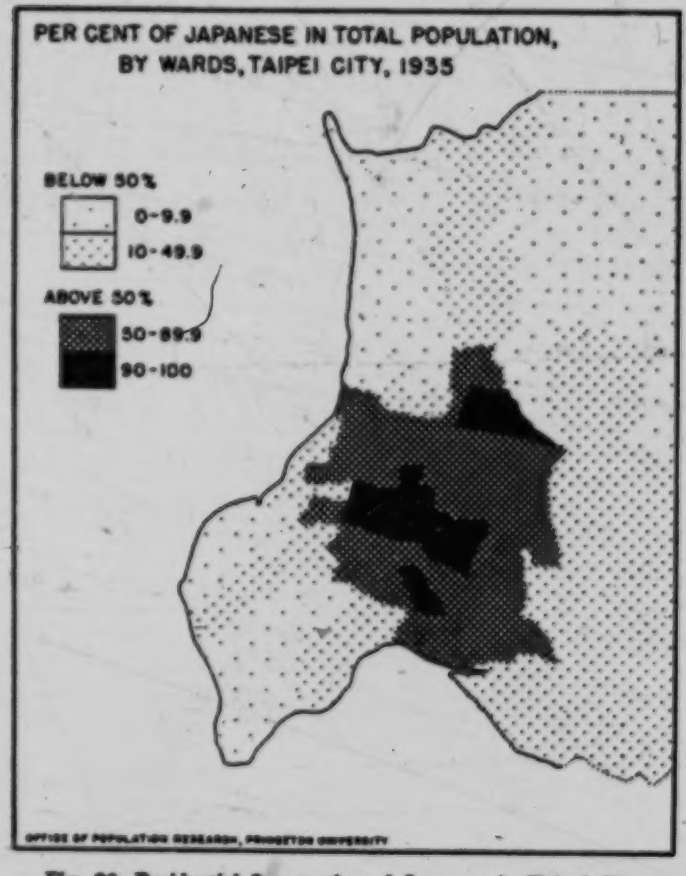

Fig. 20. Residential Segregation of Japanese in Taipei City.

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substantial area where Japanese residents predominated. Around the fringes of this modern district, other Japanese (reportedly those of lower income and social status[19]) lived more thinly mixed with Taiwanese. Almost one-half of the city's surface was taken up by poorer districts composed entirely of Taiwanese dwellings, shops, and open markets.

There is also another way to see how the separation of living quarters kept the two groups apart—in terms of persons rather than the space involved. Table 27 illustrates this aspect of segregation for

[19] OPNAV, Civil Affairs Handbook (1944), *Taihoku Province*, p. 133. A more comprehensive account of the growth of Taipei City, in relation to the surrounding region, is given in Ch'en Cheng-hsiang (1952).

52:Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 AD1 Formosa AD1

TABLE 27

RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION IN TAIPEI CITY, 1925 AND 1935

Taiwanese and Japanese Population Distributed by the Proportion Japanese in Each "Ward"

Per Cent Japanese in Each Ward	1925		1935	
	Number	Per Cent of Total	Number	Per Cent of Total
		Taiwanese		
0– 9.9	94,551	73.4	109,309	62.5
10.0– 49.9	25,681	19.9	48,815	27.9
50.0– 89.9	7,964	6.2	16,508	9.4
90.0–100.0	606	0.5	384	0.2
Total Taiwanese	128,802	100.0	175,016	100.0
		Japanese		
0– 9.9	3,069	5.8	3,640	4.5
10.0– 49.9	11,462	21.5	18,173	22.2
50.0– 89.9	24,928	46.7	48,775	59.7
90.0–100.0	13,884	26.0	11,116	13.6
Total Japanese	53,341	100.0	81,704	100.0

Sources: *Census of 1925, Statistical Tables*, Table 2.
Census of 1935, Statistical Tables, Table 2.

Taipei City in 1925 and 1935. Here both Taiwanese and Japanese have been grouped according to the degree of concentration of Japanese in each "ward." While the non-Japanese wards held the bulk of Taiwanese, there was some considerable area of overlap where the two groups were relatively mixed. From the evidence of this table, many Japanese who were arriving in Taiwan were forced to go to residential areas that contained some Taiwanese residents. This is shown by the relative gain of Japanese in the sections that were not purely Japanese, but where Japanese residents were in the majority. With its members increasing, the Japanese community eventually had to mix more widely with Taiwanese, since the areas that were already more than 90 per cent Japanese could not absorb any newcomers. They moved into wards with only the "better element" of Taiwanese, however, and managed to keep this mixture to a minimum. The proportion of Japanese living in predominantly Taiwanese wards actually fell off very slightly.

From the Taiwanese side, moving into mixed sections was carried somewhat further. Taiwanese were beginning to spread into wards that were not purely Taiwanese, sections closer to the center of the

52:Barclay S-5 (nodate)1954 ADI Formosa ADI

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city which they had occupied together with Japanese. Because there were more of them, and because they had been more concentrated among their own kind before, the Taiwanese moving into these areas contributed more to the mixture than the Japanese. The data here do not signify that it was very extensive. But it makes some difference which of these two aspects of segregation we choose to use as a standard of comparison.

This trend in the segregation of urban residents was of some significance in the other cities during the years when they were growing rapidly, for the system was put under strain by the continuous arrival of new immigrants. On the whole, the Japanese were successful in housing most of their people in residential wards that were predominantly Japanese, and well-to-do Taiwanese were moderately successful in entering sections containing some Japanese, but not into the sections most prized by the Japanese.

For Japanese, no other city offered living quarters and facilities so exclusive as those of Taipei (see Table 28). In every one of these six other Municipalities they lived more widely intermixed with Taiwanese (though not necessarily at the same levels of comfort). Kao-

TABLE 28

RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION IN SIX CITIES OF TAIWAN, 1935

Taiwanese and Japanese Population Distributed by the Proportion Japanese of Each Ward

Per Cent Japanese in Each Ward	*Chilung*	*Hsinchu*	*Taichung*	*Tainan*	*Chiayi*	*Kaohsiung*
			Taiwanese			
0– 9.9	56.6	68.5	52.7	50.0	58.2	56.1
10.0– 49.9	34.2	30.7	42.7	48.3	41.5	36.2
50.0– 89.9	8.9	0.7	4.5	1.7	0.3	7.7
90.0–100.0	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total Taiwanese	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
			Japanese			
0– 9.9	5.7	16.4	6.8	11.0	15.7	7.9
10.0– 49.9	35.6	54.3	53.0	69.9	80.0	38.6
50.0– 89.9	50.9	16.6	34.9	11.1	4.3	53.5
90.0–100.0	7.8	12.7	5.3	8.0	0.0	0.0
Total Japanese	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: *Census of 1935, Statistical Tables*, Table 2.

52:Barclay S-5 (no date)1954 AD1 Formosa AD1

hsiung and Chiayi had not a single ward with as high as 90 per cent of its population Japanese. For Taiwanese, on the other hand, Taipei consisted neither more nor less of mixed wards than the other cities. In all, at least nine-tenths of the Taiwanese population of every city stayed in districts in which less than a majority of the inhabitants were Japanese.

The Taiwanese in Cities

Of all Taiwanese, so few went to cities that one is prompted to ask whether there were not some special factors present restricting the size of this migration. The effects of such a selective process over many years should produce differences in the characteristics of persons living in cities and of those living outside.

Since few if any newcomers had an opportunity to take up agriculture in the cities, a prominent feature of cityward migration was a movement to new work. To the extent that it was, one would expect that the migrants were the types of persons who usually undertook new occupations in Taiwan—for example, men rather than women, primarily in the ages of young adulthood. If the migrant population had been limited to these categories, cities with large proportions of migrants in their populations must have had disproportionate numbers of young men as compared with the rest of the island. Such a tendency has characterized rapid urbanization elsewhere.

In addition, cities frequently offer opportunities for employment that are considered superior to those found in the countryside. This is especially true of many agrarian societies, where rural poverty sometimes reaches extremes that make the meanest of urban jobs seem attractive. Where such conditions exist, movement to cities very often serves to drain off large numbers of men in young working ages who have lost or overcome their attachment to farming.

In 1935, these effects of age and sex selection were hardly perceptible in Taiwan's urban population taken as a whole. The age composition of all their males combined was nearly the same as the rural population (Table 29). Surprisingly, urban females likewise had almost the same age structure as those outside of cities. Hence, there could have been no sweeping dislocation of persons of different age and sex groups as a result of urbanization in Taiwan.

There are special circumstances in which it is not hard to imagine some movement of single individuals in an agrarian society; this has

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Formosa AD1

Taiwanese villages are laid out in three basic patterns. Probably the most common is the nucleated or compact type: the dwellings form a compact cluster which is surrounded by the arable land of the village. The second is linear, laid out along a riverbank or road, and the third, the least common, is the scattered settlement whose houses are spaced out over a larger area, which sometimes makes it difficult to determine the exact boundary of the village. Hsin Hsing, like most of the villages in the area, is a compact cluster of dwellings surrounded by farmlands. One can walk completely around the central cluster in about fifteen minutes.

The dwelling cluster is bounded on the southwest by the *hsien* dirt road which connects Lukang with the market town of Chi Hu (all of the villages in this immediate area lie on one or the other or both sides of this road) and on the northeast by an irrigation drainage stream which flows into the sea near Lukang. There are two villages quite close to Hsin Hsing. Lo Ts'e (now incorporated into Yung P'ing village) is along the road about three hundred yards to the northwest, and Ta Yu lies along the same road about eight hundred yards to the southwest. Like all the neighboring settlements, both are separated from Hsin Hsing by fields.

There are a few fields lying within the dwelling area itself. These are small, mainly garden plots, and are mostly on the outskirts rather than within the village. Hsin Hsing villagers own the fields across the road from the village as well as those between Hsin Hsing and the neighboring villages of Ta Yu and Lo Ts'e, but most of the fields operated by the villagers—either as owners or tenants—are usually not so conveniently located. Many lie to the west on the other side of the road and as much as two or three miles away. Some can be reached only by dirt roads and by narrow paths between the fields. The villagers ride their bicycles as far as they can and walk the rest of the way, often carrying heavy farm implements. A boy might go along leading or riding a water buffalo.

Village agriculture is focused primarily on wet-rice cultivation. Hsin Hsing village is located in one of the principal agricultural areas of the island, the long flat west-central coastal plain. With the Strait of Formosa to the west and the interior mountains to the east of the area, there is a natural flow of water from the mountains to the lower lands and finally to the sea. The usually plentiful water supply is harnessed by an intricate network of irrigation systems which consist of rivers, dams, pumping stations—both publicly and privately operated—and artificial waterways and ditches which eventually carry water into the maze of fields.

The area is subject to great seasonal variation in both temperature and precipitation. Although it lies in the semitropical zone—being